Circulations of Labor, Bodies of Work: A Japanese Migrant in Meiji Hawai'i

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A Japanese Migrant in Meiji Hawai‘i

by Martin Dusinberre

1. The expansion of labor[1]

To grasp what is at stake in the phrase, *Arbeit in der Erweiterung*, we might turn to the opening sentence of a 1969 essay in *The Journal of Economic History*:

> By-employments, one may suppose, tend to ready preindustrial people for modern economic roles since they represent an incipient shift from agriculture to other occupations, spread skills useful to industrialization among the most backward and numerous part of the population, and stimulate ambition and geographical mobility.[2]

The essay, by renowned historian Thomas C. Smith, described a basic expansion of work, from farmers working the land to farmers engaged in by-employments, and then from farmers working by-employments to former farmers engaged in industrial labor. This was one of many transformations in the extraordinary story of nineteenth-century Japan. Indeed, Smith's interest in the transition from the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) to the "modern" Meiji period (1868–1912) was but one expression of a wider scholarly interest in "preindustrial" Japanese labor at this time. In 1976, Akira Hayami coined the term "industrious revolution" (*kinben kakumei*) to explain Japan's socioeconomic transformations in terms of labor-intensive rather than capital-intensive industrialization.[3] Hayami's term would later be appropriated by Jan de Vries, in a ground-breaking attempt to "place the Industrial Revolution in a broader historical setting."[4] And just as Hayami's work proved to be so influential

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1 I would like to thank Jakob Tanner, Brigitta Bernet, Juliane Schiel, Christopher Gerteis, David Mervart, and my fellow contributors for reading earlier drafts, and Gonzalo San Emeterio Cabañes and David Möller for editorial assistance. My research in Hawai‘i was supported by an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation Research Fellowship, 2012–2014.

2 *Thomas C. Smith*, Farm Family By-Employments in Preindustrial Japan, in: The Journal of Economy History 29 (1969) 4, 687–715, here 687.

3 As recounted in *Akira Hayami*, Japan's Industrious Revolution. Economic and Social Transformations in the Early Modern Period, Tokyo – London 2015, 96. From a large literature, see also *Masayuki Tanimoto*, From Peasant Economy to Urban Agglomeration. The Transformation of "labour-intensive industrialization" in modern Japan, in: Gareth Austin/Kaoru Sugihara (eds.), Labour-Intensive Industrialization in Global History, Abingdon 2013, 144–175.

4 *Jan de Vries*, The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution, in: The Journal of Eco-

on de Vries, so Smith's work would be hailed as "epoch-making" by Japanese scholars.[5] Here, therefore, *Erweiterung* speaks both to historical and historiographical processes, to the changing practices of labor in nineteenth-century Japan and to an expansion of our analytical vocabulary through scholarly dialogue between Japanese and non-Japanese historians.

How might this "expansion" itself be extended? In the pages that follow, I argue for a conceptual broadening of how historians understand the transitions of nineteenth-century Japanese labor. This necessitates both moving beyond the modernization framework that inspired Smith and numerous other scholars in the postwar decades, and also challenging the deeper assumption that non-European history can be defined by apparently "universal" theories.[6] My article instead sketches how historians might apply an indigenous terminology to analyze nineteenth-century Japanese transformations, in this case the theory of "circulation" rather than "modernization" or "capitalism." In so doing, I aim to make not only a conceptual but also a methodological intervention: Although I offer a story that in many ways exemplifies the burgeoning field of "global labor history," I also seek to challenge and rethink some of the ways that global labor history might be practiced.

Conceptual broadening requires as a first step an empirical broadening, in this case of the temporal and spatial frameworks that defined Thomas C. Smith's postwar work. Smith began his 1969 essay with a statistical oddity: a detailed economic survey conducted by the southwestern domain of Chōshū in the 1840s had shown that in one of the domain's counties, agricultural income accounted for only 45 percent of the county's total income, despite the fact that 82 percent of the county's households were classified as "farmers." Smith first discounted the possibility that farming household income had been grossly underreported, or that the 18 percent of nonfarming households were incredibly more productive than their farming counterparts. Instead, he explained the high proportion of nonagricultural income by suggesting that farm families were engaged in widespread nonagricultural by-employments alongside – and in some cases instead of – their regular farming work. These by-employments included the production of salt or textiles, maritime transportation, and trade; and because such work was "oriented toward the market rather than home consumption," farming households acquired new skills in adapting to the needs of the market.[7] In the teleological language of modernization theory, this expanding range of skills helped "ready" farmers for new roles. For, as Smith speculated in his concluding comments, farmers who were weavers "had no great trouble learning to operate power looms; men who

nomic History 54 (1994), 249–270, here 249. De Vries did not acknowledge Hayami in this essay, though he did in later publications (e. g. *de Vries*, The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present, Cambridge 2008, xi, 78–79).

5 *Nishikawa Shunsaku*, Chōshū no Keizaikōzō [The Economic Structures of the Chōshū Domain], Tokyo 2012, 11. I follow Japanese name-order (surname first) for publications in Japanese, but English name-order (surname last) if the authors published in English.

6 On the problems of "world-making" concepts in global history, see *Sebastian Conrad*, What is Global History? Princeton 2016, 185–204.

7 See also *Osamu Saito*, Land, Labour and Market Forces in Tokugawa Japan, in: Continuity and Change 24 (2009), 169–196.

had kept accounts with the abacus readily mastered modern bookkeeping; many rural moneylenders took naturally and successfully to country banking."[8]

Empirically, one way to broaden this thesis would be to return to the very same county – its name was Kaminoseki – studied by Smith and investigate whether there were, in fact, specific examples of loom operators and bookkeepers and bankers in the late-nineteenth century whose working skills owed something to the by-employments of the mid-nineteenth century. We could thus expand the temporal frame of analysis from the 1840s to, say, the 1890s, bridging both Japan's reengagement with the outside world in the 1850s and the longer-term consequences of the 1868 Meiji Restoration. But such an investigation would in fact be impossible: there were precious few loom operators or regional bankers in late-nineteenth century Kaminoseki because, as we shall see, the economy did *not* industrialize in the way that might have been expected from the perspective of the 1840s. Kaminoseki, in other words, was a classic example of the regional disjunctures that sometimes occurred between "proto" industrialization and industrialization itself.[9] Ironically, Smith's speculations about some of the important continuities that characterized the pre- and post-Meiji worlds of Japanese labor were inapplicable to the very locality he had studied.

It would be wrong to dismiss the more general contribution that modernization historians in the 1950s and 1960s made to our understanding of continuities across the Tokugawa-Meiji divide. Smith's own scholarship helped undermine the widespread perception of Tokugawa Japan as "feudal" or – despite his own trenchant language – "backward."[10] But the problem in this case was that the tropes of "readying" or "preparing" were too simplistic and also assumed that modernization was universally beneficial – a problem that some scholars would later recognize. Robert N. Bellah, who famously applied Weber's Protestant ethic to the study of Tokugawa religion, acknowledged in 1985 his earlier "unwillingness to face the defects of the Japanese pattern or count the costs that Japanese modernization would exact."[11] Three years later, Smith also admitted that in the 1950s, his focus had involved "slighting much about the Japanese past that did not prove useful to the present."[12]

From the perspective of 2016, which of course contains its own presentisms, what is most striking about both the Cold War context of modernization theory and the 1980s reflections thereupon, is the insistence on a *Japanese* framing of the past.[13]

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8 *Smith*, Farm Family By-Employments, 687, 712.

9 For Japan, see *Kären Wigen*, The Making of a Japanese Periphery 1750–1920, Berkeley 1995, 294–295; and *Edward E. Pratt*, Japan's Protoindustrial Elite. The Economic Foundations of the Gono, Cambridge/MA 1999, 7. Proto-industrialization, coined by Franklin Mendels, is another analytical framework that has been fruitfully applied to non-European history. For a recent reconsideration, see *Osamu Saito*, Proto-industrialization and Labour-intensive Industrialization. Reflections on Smithian Growth and the Role of Skill Intensity, in: Austin/Sugihara (eds.), Labour-Intensive Industrialization in Global History, 85–106.

10 See, for example, *Thomas C. Smith*, The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan, Stanford 1959.

11 *Robert N. Bellah*, Tokugawa Religion. The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan, London 1985 [1957], xviii.

12 *Thomas C. Smith*, Native Sources of Japanese Industrialization, 1750–1920, Berkeley 1988, 2.

13 On the Cold War context of modernization theory in Japan: *Sebastian Conrad*, 'The Colonial Ties Are liquidated'. Modernization Theory, Post-war Japan and the Global Cold War, in: Past and Present 216 (2012) 1, 181–214.

When Smith wrote – as in the opening citation – about the relationship between by-employments and "geographical mobility," he had in mind only domestic mobility. The experience of responding to market incentives, he argued, "helped prepare" farmers ultimately to leave their homes in search of new work opportunities – as happened during the intense urbanization of the Meiji period.[14] Indeed, domestic labor migration among both men and women was already common in Tokugawa Japan, including the off-season migrations of Kaminoseki farmers themselves to work in western Japan's sake-brewing or whaling industries.[15] But "geographical mobility" did not just stop at the borders of the nation: by the death of Emperor Meiji in 1912, there were growing Japanese communities not only in the new colonies of Taiwan, Korea, and Karafuto (southern Sakhalin), but also in the south Pacific, Hawai'i, North America, and increasingly in Latin America. Moreover, the villages of Kaminoseki county were located in one of the most active emigrant-sending regions of Meiji Japan, Yamaguchi prefecture (the post-1871 name for the Chōshū domain). Empirically, therefore, extending Smith's temporal focus on Kaminoseki from the mid- to the late-nineteenth century necessitates a new spatial framework for considering the relationship between by-employments and geographical mobility.[16]

In short, to understand "Japanese" labor during the transitions from Tokugawa to Meiji, we need to change our geographical frame of analysis from Japan to the world. To do this, I trace the working life history of a man called Fuyuki Sakazō.[17] Fuyuki was born in 1869 or 1870 in Murotsu, a key port in Kaminoseki county that was second in importance only to the eponymous Kaminoseki port. Both ports faced each other across the Kaminoseki straits, where one channel of the Inland Sea narrows to little more than a hundred meters, creating a series of natural harbors that were recognized from the earliest times for their importance to maritime trading networks, and thus to the wider political and economic structures of western Japan. In the next section, I briefly contextualize the Fuyuki household's probable mid-nineteenth century employment history using the same comprehensive economic survey used by Smith. But the household's historical significance lies less in that mid-nineteenth century context than in the fact that in 1889, aged 21, Sakazō moved to the Kingdom of Hawai'i in search of work. He was one of hundreds of Murotsu townspeople and some 29,000 Japanese to do so at the turn of the 1890s under the auspices of the Japanese-Hawaiian government-sponsored emigration program (*kan'yaku imin*, 1885–1894), which comprised 26 crossings of emigrants from Yokohama to Honolulu.

I focus particularly on Fuyuki Sakazō because, by connecting fragmentary records in Murotsu with archives in Tokyo and Honolulu, we can sketch his basic career with

14 *Smith*, Farm Family By-Employments, 712.

15 *Martin Dusinberre*, Hard Times in the Hometown. A History of Community Survival in Modern Japan, Honolulu 2012, 106. On domestic migration in Tokugawa Japan more generally, see *Amy Stanley*, Maidservants' Tales. Narrating Domestic and Global History in Eurasia, 1600–1900, in: American Historical Review 121 (2016), 2, 437–460; *Fabian Drixler*, The Politics of Migration in Tokugawa Japan. The Eastward Expansion of Shin Buddhism, in: Journal of Japanese Studies 42 (2016), 1, 1–28.

16 For a pioneering connecting of the by-employment histories of Kaminoseki county's Befu village to later patterns of Korean emigration, see *Kimura Kenji*, Zaichō Nihonjin no shakaishi [A Social History of the Japanese in Korea], Tokyo 1989.

17 Fuyuki is a pseudonym.

Figure 1: Murotsu and Maui in the Pacific World. Map created by GSEC.

some confidence. Following Fuyuki's story beyond the confines of the nation-state, then, raises new questions about the expanding world of Japanese labor in the nineteenth century. What, if anything, was the relationship between Tokugawa-period by-employments and Meiji-period overseas emigration? In what ways did the Hawaiian sugarcane fields constitute a new labor regime for Japanese migrants? And how might the story of a Kaminoseki county laborer in Hawai'i allow historians conceptually to reframe the history of modern "Japanese" labor in its transition from agrarian to industrial practices?

To answer these questions, the essay's central sections focus on two aspects of Fuyuki's new life in Hawai'i, namely the idea of his labor as a commodity, and the wider meaning of "contract," which was in turn partly related to what Hawaiian officials called the Japanese "mode of work." Given the paucity of records in which laborers explained that "mode" in their own words, historians come closer to understanding the lived experience of work by applying conceptual frameworks to the "expansion of labor" that someone like Fuyuki himself might have recognized, rather than by applying a nonindigenous framework such as "capitalism." I address the methodology of applying notionally universal concepts to non-European histories by touching on practices of global labor history in my final comments; but first, in beginning to trace a history from Murotsu to Maui, we need to consider the idea of "circulation."

2. Labor and circulation

Intellectuals in late-Tokugawa Japan often conceived of economic life by way of analogy with the human body. In a departure from Chinese medicine, which maintained that poor health was at root caused by depletion of vitality (Ch. *qi*, Jp. *ki*), and

that such depletions could be minimized by avoiding wasteful effort, Japanese doctors from the late-seventeenth century onward came to see the problem of ill health not in terms of the depletion of vitality *from* the body but rather the stagnation of vitality *within* the body. Stagnated vitality, in the form of impeded internal circulation, would cause "congestions, congelations, accumulations, hardenings, knots."[18] And as in the human body, so in the economic realm. Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714) argued:

> If the flow of material force (*ki*) through heaven and earth is stopped up, abnormalities arise, causing natural disasters such as violent windstorms, floods and droughts, and earthquakes. If the things of the world are long collected together, such stoppage is inevitable. In humans, if the blood, vital ether (*ki*), food and drink do not circulate and flow, the result is disease. Likewise, if vast material wealth is collected in one place and not permitted to benefit and enrich others, disaster will strike later.[19]

The words used for circulation differed by author, but the reasoning was the same: the flow of money generated by commerce was as important to economic health as the flow of blood to human well-being.[20] Disasters, conversely, could be explained by stagnation. Thus, in the aftermath of the Ansei Edo earthquake (1855), one popular print depicted an unsympathetic catfish – here symbolizing the earthquake – forcing a merchant to vomit gold coins onto gleeful laborers gathered below him.[21] The implication was that stagnated flow, or the Edo merchants' unnatural hoarding of money, had caused natural disaster.[22] A healthy economy required the constant circulation of money.

The importance of circulation to the smooth functioning of economic life would have been self-evident to anyone gazing across the Kaminoseki straits from Murotsu

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18 *Shigehisa Kuriyama*, The Historical Origins of Katakori, in: Japan Review 9 (1997), 127–149, here 131–132.

19 Cited in *Mark Metzler* and *Gregory Smits*, Introduction: The Autonomy of Market Activity and the Emergence of Keizai Thought, in: Bettina Gramlich-Oka/Gregory Smits (eds.), Economic Thought in Early Modern Japan, Leiden 2010, 1–19, here 14.

20 In *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* (*Hoju shokuji kai*, 1815), Takai Ranzan wrote of circulation (of blood, *ki*, and food) using *shūryū* (see *Michael Kinski*, Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption, in: Japonica Humboldtiana 7, [2003], 123–178, here 167); in the economic sphere, Ogyū Sorai spoke in *Master Sorai's Teachings* (*Sorai-sensei tōmonsho*, 1724) of *ryūtsū* (see *Samuel Hideo Yamashita*, Master Sorai's Responsals. An Annotated Translation of Sorai Sensei Tomonsho, Honolulu 1994); in the same decade, Yamashita Kōnai wrote of *yūzū* to describe the importance of money circulating (my thanks to David Mervart for this reference), a term used also by Osaka financier Kusama Noakata (1753–1831) (see *Metzler* and *Smits*, Introduction, 15).

21 The image is preserved in Japan's National Diet Library, URL: *http://gazo.dl.itc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ishimoto/2/02–043/00001.jpg* (27. 2. 2016). For commentary, see *Gregory Smits*, Seismic Japan. The Long History and Continuing Legacy of the Ansei Edo Earthquake, Honolulu 2013, 23.

22 The idea that economic crises constituted a disturbance to the health of the body politic – as, for example, in the medical vocabulary of economic "panic" and "depression" – could also be found in contemporary Europe: *Daniele Besomi*, Crises as a Disease of the Body Politick. A Metaphor in the History of Nineteenth-Century Economics, in: Journal of the History of Economic Thought 33 (2011) 1, 67–118.

port. In the Chōshū domain's 1842 survey, Murotsu recorded the highest percentage of nonfarming households (56 percent) and the highest proportion of nonagricultural income (83 percent) in the whole of Kaminoseki county.[23] According to Smith's reading of the survey, almost half of the town's total reported income was generated by interregional trade – by the scores if not hundreds of small cargo ships that one would have seen on any given day in the straits.[24]

Smith's reading of these figures, however, was distorted by his excluding Kaminoseki port itself from his county-wide analysis,[25] and by his glossing over the fact that "Murotsu" actually comprised two administrative spheres – the existence of which demonstrated an even more remarkable by-employment profile.[26] For example, a comparison with an earlier domainal survey reveals that from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, the number of households in the port district (*ura-kata*), in close proximity to the straits, almost doubled, to 228. Ninety-eight percent of these households were nonfarmers, and the port district's reported income was *entirely* nonagricultural, with trade alone accounting for 72 percent. Moreover, the income of the port district was three times greater than that of the inland district. In other words, Murotsu's port – similar to Kaminoseki's, across the straits – dominated the town's economy to an even greater extent than Smith recognized. The port was where the richest and most politically powerful households were located; it was where most houses boasted the status symbol of a tiled roof and the very richest merchant-wholesalers enjoyed privileges normally reserved for the samurai, including surnames and walled gardens.

The inland district (*ji-kata*), by contrast, was poorer. In this district, which included both the port's hillside suburbs and also farming hamlets located several kilometers up the Murotsu peninsula, the houses were smaller and only thatched, and the standard of living was considerably lower. And yet, between the 1730s and the 1840s, the number of households in this district almost quadrupled, to 232; most significantly, 88 percent of these households owned no land. Such a demographic transformation only makes sense if we assume that the port acted as an economic magnet for the region as a whole. That is, the huge increase in inland district households, which outstripped the increase in people in the same period (from a population of 360 to 1,190), suggests that there was considerable inward migration by nominal "farmers" who saw an opportunity to work in the port.[27]

"Work" in this context meant any activity that contributed to the smooth flow of trade through the port. For a contemporary analogy, which drew also on the workings of the human body, we may turn to a woodblock print, "Rules of Dietary Life" (*In-*

23 *Smith*, Farm Family By-Employments, 692–693.

24 On the Kaminoseki straits in the 1690s, see *Engelbert Kaempfer*, Kaempfer's Japan. Tokugawa Culture Observed, trans. Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey, Honolulu 1999, 421.

25 *Smith*, Farm Family By-Employments, 680, fn. 8.

26 The following two paragraphs are based on *Dusinberre*, Hard Times, 28–33.

27 This is an oversimplification of a complex and much debated transformation in the wider Tokugawa economy. On the relationship between rural industry and population increase, see *Osamu Saito*, Population and the Peasant Family Economy in Proto-industrial Japan, in: Journal of Family History 8 (1983), 30–54.

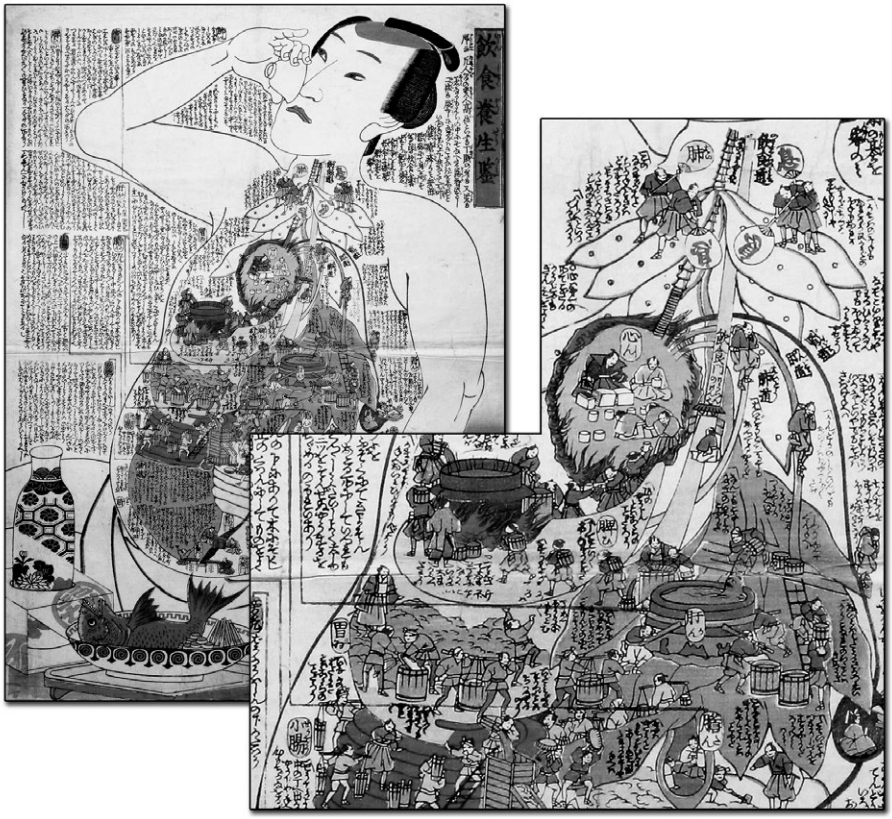

Figure 2: Utagawa Kunisada, "Rules of Dietary Life", c. 1850.
Source: Ajinomoto Foundation for Dietary Culture.

shoku yōjō kagami), published by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1864) in around 1850.[28] The print depicts a seated man whose cross-sectioned torso reveals the functions of the body's internal organs (see Figure 2). Dozens of miniature male workers, dressed in blue uniforms, busy themselves supplying the fires under the spleen's huge cooking pot, or shoveling mushy food into wooden barrels, which they then carry from the warehouse of the stomach to the millstone of the liver. At the very start of this circulation process, just below the man's throat, four laborers beat huge fans in order to aerate the lungs. One, bent exhausted over a large fan marked with the character "breath," complains to his co-worker that he is at breaking point, a comment that puns

28 "Rules of Dietary Life" came with an accompanying print, "Rules of Sexual Life," which depicted a seated woman, also in cross-section. See *Etsuo Shirasugi*, Envisioning the inner body during the Edo period in Japan. Inshoku yojo kagami (Rules of Dietary Life) and Boji yojo kagami (Rules of Sexual Life), in: Anatomical Science International 82 (2007), 46–52. The laborers in "Rules of Sexual Life" are female. My thanks to Gonzalo San Emeterio Cabañes for assistance in reading Utagawa's print.

on the word *hone*, meaning both the ribs of the fan (*uchiwa no hone*) and the laborers' own bones (*karada no hone*). "I'm beat," he says. "Shouldn't we take a short break?" "Let's keep giving it our best," his friend says, punning once more on *hone* by using the idiom "great effort" (*hone oru*), "and then we can rest." In the body's other lung, two colleagues, still fanning with all their might, grumble to each other, "What're we gonna do if this guy doesn't work (*hatarakanē*)?"[29] Without constant labor, the body's internal circulations will cease to function.

The "Rules of Dietary Life" was a visualization of Kaibara Ekken's exhortation – in his similarly titled *Principles for Nourishing Life* (*Yōjō kun*, 1713) – that labor would make blood and vitality (*ki*) circulate and prevent corporeal stagnation. As the conscientious workers demonstrated, industriousness was crucial to the maintenance of (monetary) circulation, which was in turn crucial to (economic) well-being.[30] And while the most virtuous form of labor was obviously tilling the land, the by-employments associated with ports such as Murotsu were also central to the maintenance of circulation. The ceaseless labor of stevedores, porters, cooks, cleaners, shop assistants, fisherman, craft producers and so on, performed for the most part by landless "farmers" living in the inland district, contributed to the extraordinary flow of commodities through the mid-nineteenth century port – rice, silk, lacquer, kelp, fertilizer, timber, sugar, and charcoal (mainly moving eastwards), and tea, cotton, salt, and paper (mainly moving westwards).[31] Perhaps, following Kaibara's famous text or Utagawa's print, these laborers compared their work to the flow of blood, vitality or even food through the human body. But it also seems possible that they conceived of their world in reference to the force of nature ultimately responsible for their livelihoods: from the perspective of the booming mid-nineteenth century port, one could no more cut off the circulation of trade than one could impede the very flow of the sea itself.

Yet the sea itself *was* effectively impeded in mid-nineteenth century Japan. The ships in Murotsu port were prohibited to trade beyond Japan's coastal waters; the flows of goods were domestic rather than international. And when those flows changed, first after Japan's reengagement with international trade in the late 1850s and then after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, the results were catastrophic for Murotsu. By the early 1880s, new patterns of domestic trade and new political structures, in combination with the new technologies of the telegraph and the steamship, had led to a severe economic downturn that left many of the town's households destitute. In November 1888, a Murotsu bureaucrat petitioned his superior for support in helping townspeople emigrate to Hawai'i on a new, government-sponsored program. (From its establishment, early in 1885, the program had already sent away hundreds of laborers from neighboring Ōshima county,

29 For the various different terms meaning "work" in Japanese, see *Shingo Shimada*, Arbeitsbegriffe in der japanischen Gesellschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Jörn Leonhard/Willibald Steinmetz (eds.), Semantiken von Arbeit: Diachrone und vergleichende Perspektiven, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2016, 309–317.

30 *Kuriyama*, Origins of Katakori, 134–137. Professor Kuriyama discussed these themes specifically in relation to Utagawa's 1850 "Rules of Dietary Life" in a public lecture, "The Travel of Anxieties. Rethinking Western Medicine in Edo Japan," at Heidelberg Center for Transcultural Studies, 22. 01. 2015.

31 *Dusinberre*, Hard Times, 32.

and hundreds more from previously prosperous Inland Sea port towns in western Hiroshima prefecture.[32]) He wrote: "Murotsu is by far the most impoverished village. There is [high] population relative to the amount of land, such that [the village's] economy could not survive without out-migration labor; we are in great hardship."[33]

On their applications, these men were labeled as farmers, and historians have therefore argued that the vast majority of the 29,000 Japanese who emigrated to Hawai'i between 1885 and 1894 were impoverished farmers, many of whom were forced into tenancy during the Meiji government's deflationary policy in the early 1880s.[34] But just as Smith questioned the whole meaning of a "farm" family by examining by-employments, so we should note that the pattern of overseas migration from Murotsu, Kaminoseki and other regional ports suggests that many emigrants were "farmers" in name only. In the mid-1880s, their households probably only engaged in subsistence farming; and had what Murotsu merchants called "world conditions" been different, these men and women could have expected to find nonagricultural by-employments in the ports.[35]

Indeed, the connection between the collapse of the port economies in the 1870s and the high numbers of Hawaiian emigrants a decade later is confirmed by the provenance of the laborers. Although their parent households only gained surnames after 1871, and thus cannot be traced further back with any certainty, the laborers' 1880s addresses can in many cases be mapped onto the administrative districts of the 1840s, even though the "port" and "inland" distinction was abolished after the Meiji Restoration and the address system changed. This mapping shows that, excluding the town's outlying hamlets, over 60 percent of Murotsu's Hawaiian emigrants came from the former inland district. That is, predominantly landless households that had previously depended on by-employments in the port were most likely to send their sons to work in Hawai'i.[36]

As Murphy's Law would have it, the address given on Fuyuki Sakazō's 1889 application – 468 *yashiki-banchi* – is impossible to locate with any precision in Murotsu's modern *banchi* system. But because it was definitely not a household in the outlying hamlets, and therefore would have lain within easy walking distance of the port, and because neither of the only two Fuyuki households to appear in the town's 1891 tax records were especially wealthy, there is a very high probability that Sakazō's older relatives engaged in port-related by-employments in the decades before his birth.[37]

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32 On Ōshima, see *Doi Yatarō*, Yamaguchi-ken Ōshima-gun Hawai iminshi [A History of Emigration to Hawai'i from Ōshima County, Yamaguchi Prefecture], Tokyo 1980; *Hatsukaichi-chō hen*, Hatsukaichi chōshi [Hatsukaichi Town History], Hiroshima 1988, vol. 7, 337.

33 *Kaminoseki Chōshi Hensan Iinkai*, Kaminoseki chōshi [Kaminoseki Town History] (hereafter KC), Kaminoseki 1988, 461.

34 *Miyamoto Tsuneichi* and *Okamoto Sadamu*, Tōwa chōshi [Tōwa Town History], Tōwa 1982, 649; *Ishikawa Tomonori*, Yamaguchi-ken Ōshima-gun Tōwa-chō ni okeru deimin no rekishi chirigakuteki kōsatsu [A Historical-Geographic Study of Out-Migration from Tōwa Town, Ōshima county, Yamaguchi prefecture], in: Nihon imin no chirigakuteki kenkyū 34 (1991), 1–21, here 7–8.

35 Murotsu merchant petition from 1894: KC, 450.

36 *Dusinberre*, Hard Times, 89–90.

37 I make my assumptions about where the Fuyuki household was *not* located by cross-referencing the *yashiki-banchi* addresses with those districts that *are* known today, including Murotsu's outlying hamlets. For tax, see the Meiji 24-nen sonkaigian [1891 Village Assembly Records], Murotsu Yakuba Monjo [Murotsu Village Archives, Kaminoseki town] (hereafter MYM) 95. One of the

For information about new working opportunities in Hawai'i, Fuyuki probably relied less on newspaper publicity in the regional press than on word of mouth and kinship networks.[38] From the beginning of the program, reports filtered into Murotsu from the neighboring county of Ōshima, also a part of the new Yamaguchi prefecture; Ōshima alone sent more than 300 laborers to Hawai'i on the program's first official crossing in February 1885. By October 1889, the month that Fuyuki arrived in Hawai'i, Robert W. Irwin, Hawaiian Consul in Japan and the driving force behind the program, was writing to Honolulu officials that: "The Japanese immigrants now in Hawaii have sent highly favorable reports to their families and friends, and the Emigration is very popular in Yamaguchi and Hiroshima."[39] The fact that 142 Murotsu villagers left for Hawai'i on the five crossings between December 1888 and December 1889 – including Fuyuki and 52 others on the ninth official crossing, in September 1889 – suggests that Irwin's agents were also active on the ground in Murotsu and Kaminoseki, as they had initially been in Ōshima.[40] Indeed, Irwin wrote in advance of the tenth crossing: "Every care will be taken and has been taken in the selection of these emigrants, who are now all ready to embark. I personally sent my Secretary, Mr. Onaka, to every district in Yamaguchi and Hiroshima, which he visited between September 21st and October 11th."[41]

How might we conceive of the historical processes that had led to Fuyuki's "embarkation" within the framework of circulation? If the body depicted in Utagawa's 1850 print at some level represented Japan, then the country's highly disruptive reengagement with international trade was analogous to a human growing several new limbs overnight. Just as an extra couple of legs and arms would likely play havoc with the circulation of one's blood, so the economic flows which Murotsu laborers helped maintain and on which their livelihoods depended were suddenly rendered out of joint. And yet, for all the incredible transformations Japan underwent before and after the Restoration, it is noteworthy that in some cases, the metaphor of the body and healthy economic life persisted. When the new Meiji government sent its famous fact-finding Iwakura Mission to North America and Europe (1871–1873), for example, the Mission's official diarist reflected in one entry on the nature of world trade. Considering London, Marseilles, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and many European ports "whose names are heard less frequently" in terms of "how the world's products circulate,"[42] he noted:

Fuyuki households ranked in the top 13 percent of Murotsu's 538 household taxpayers; the other ranked just below median. For a number of reasons, I would guess that Sakazō came from the latter household, whose head was a woman (perhaps indicating that Sakazō's mother was a widow).

38 According to Murakami Tomoko (private correspondence, 2011), one of Fuyuki's surviving grandchildren, Fuyuki applied for the program after hearing from his aunt of a cousin's experience working in Hawai'i.

39 Letter from Robert W. Irwin to Lorrin A. Thurston, October 21, 1889. Hawai'i State Archives (hereafter HSA), Interior, Box 16.

40 645 emigrants left from Kumage county in the same period; Kumage was a considerably bigger administrative unit than the pre-1868 Kaminoseki "county." For recruitment drives in Ōshima, see *Alan Takeo Moriyama*, Imingaisha. Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii 1894–1908, Honolulu 1985, 20–22.

41 Irwin to Thurston, October 21, 1889.

42 The term was *ryūtsū*, similar to Ogyū Sorai in the 1720s (see footnote 20).

> [Raw materials] are carried along the sea-lanes and unloaded at the main ports. They make their way overland to the factories of every region, and the [subsequent] manufactured goods are then sent from the main inland hubs back to the ports. This is like the flow (*ryūnyū*) of a hundred rivers or the pulsing of blood through the arteries. And, like the ebb of the tide or the flow (*kisha*) of blood back along the veins, the goods in the ports flow back (*tōryū*) to every region [of the world].[43]

This was an expression of international trade that Murotsu laborers would surely also have recognized. Comparing trade both to the flow of blood and to the tides of the sea, it was an attempt to understand Japan's new world through the conceptual frameworks of the old.

3. Laborers in circulation

The fact that it was Murotsu laborers themselves who were "embarking," however, reveals a crucial new aspect of what "circulation" meant in the context of nineteenth-century Japanese labor. On board the *Yamashiro-maru*, carried along an increasingly important transpacific sea-lane, and soon to be unloaded, disinfected, and distributed in Honolulu, Murotsu laborers were now the raw materials. Or, to return to Utagawa's imagery, it was no longer the laborers who maintained the circulation of economic food and vitality; in a greatly expanded body – *Arbeit in der Erweiterung* – they themselves had become the commodity in circulation.

Such passive formulations then beg the question, who acted upon Fuyuki's labor? The Hawaiian Consul and his secretary Mr. Onaka were one group of agents (Murphy, who failed me earlier, has now done me proud: *o-naka* can also mean "stomach" in Japanese); Board of Immigration officials in Honolulu constituted another group; and perhaps most important were the sugar magnates and their agents, on whose plantations the laborers were quickly put out to work. The plantation owners in Fuyuki Sakazō's case were Grinbaum & Co., a California-registered company originally founded by a Jewish businessman of German descent, who had established an import-export business in Honolulu in the 1850s and 1860s, and later moved into sugar production.[44] In September 1887, Grinbaum & Co. had bought the Hāna Plantation, in eastern Maui, previously owned by two Danish businessmen, Oscar Unna and his brother August (who had died in 1885). When they established Hāna in 1864, the Unnas had invested $ 47,000 in their new venture; the plantation was sold to Grinbaum &

43 This is a modified translation of *Kume Kunitake*, The Iwakura Embassy 1871–73. A True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary & Plenipotentiary's Journey of Observation Through the United States of America and Europe, vol. 5, trans. Graham Healey and Chushichi Tsuzuki, Richmond 2002, 175–76.

44 Diplomatic Records Office, Tokyo (hereafter DRO), Hawai imin 3; *Rudolf Glanz*, An Early History of Jews in Hawaii, in: Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly VI, 3 (1974), 177–187, *http://konabethshalom.org/jews-in-hawaii/* (25. 03. 2016).

Co. for $ 103,000 in 1887, which gives a good sense of its value shortly before Fuyuki Sakazō arrived there in October 1889.[45]

Even today, Hāna is one of the most remote towns in the Hawaiian archipelago, accessible only by the nausea-inducing Hāna Highway, which winds its way for eighty kilometers through the rainforests of Maui's northern shore, or by the Piilani Highway, which at times is no more than a track along the parched southern slopes of the 3,000-meter-high Haleakalā volcano, or by a tiny airport. Until the 1920s, the town could be reached only by sea, with passengers disembarking in the heavy swell of Hāna Bay. And yet, for all Maui would have felt on the other side of the world from Murotsu, Fuyuki was joining a plantation that was becoming increasingly Japanese. In November 1887, there were only 17 Japanese working at Hāna; but 75 more joined in December 1887 on the fourth official crossing, and by January 1, 1890, almost four months after Fuyuki started work, he was one of 238 Japanese on the plantation. This increase in Japanese labor occurred within the context of the Hāna Plantation's overall expansion under Grinbaum & Co.'s new ownership. Between November 1887 and October 1891, the number of laborers at Hāna nearly tripled, from 175 to 454. This was the most marked labor increase in any of Maui's plantations during the same period, and in terms of employees it established Hāna as the fourth-largest plantation on the island (and thirteenth-largest, out of 66 plantations, in the kingdom as a whole). Almost two-thirds of the Hāna workforce were Japanese at the beginning of 1890, up from a tenth only two years earlier. By contrast, the proportion of Portuguese workers declined from 16 percent to 13 percent; and the proportion of Hawaiian laborers – about whom more later – declined from 46 percent to 12 percent.[46]

The expansion of the Hāna workforce was due to a general boom in Hawaiian sugar production that occurred after Hawai'i's 1875 Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States. Though no sales figures from Grinbaum & Co. survive, the accounts of the Castle & Cooke company, one of Hawai'i's biggest sugar agents, show that between 1881 and 1888, sales of company-produced sugar – including on Maui plantations – increased from 10 million to 30 million pounds (lbs.), and that the value of sales in the same period grew from $ 686,000 to $ 1,401,000.[47] Such sales were in line with what a successful planter wrote in 1886, namely that "few plantations do much more than make a living on net sales at […] 5 cents per pound all around."[48] But this "making a living" translated into actual profits of anything between $ 23,500 and $ 71,500 for Castle & Cooke; in 1887, their "net gains" on all sales were $ 43,500, or a little under half of what Grinbaum & Co. paid for Hāna. In other words, there was huge money potentially to be made in sugar production. And the investment that Grinbaum & Co. made in Hāna in the late 1880s, of which Fuyuki was both an example and a benefi-

45 *Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor*, Nā Kua'āina. Living Hawaiian Culture, Honolulu 2007, 103; *Planters' Labor and Supply Company*, Planters' Monthly (hereafter PM) VI, 9 (Sept. 1887), 389.

46 PM VI, 11 (Nov. 1887), Table I; PM VIII, 3 (Mar. 1889), 121–126; PM X, 10 (Oct. 1891), 457–464; Hawaiian Board of Immigration (hereafter BoI), 1890 Report, 9. Hāna's 238 Japanese in January 1890 comprised 174 men under contract, 20 men as day laborers, and 44 women (BoI 1890 Report, 29).

47 Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Castle & Cooke Business Papers, Folder 1886–1888.

48 Report by Col. Z. S. Spalding in PM VI, 9 (Dec. 1886), 246.

ciary, would have been considered by Tokugawa theorists as a good example of merchants circulating rather than hoarding money.

Yet from the perspective of owner-agents such as Castle & Cooke or Grinbaum & Co., potential profits and thus reinvestments faced a serious impediment. In the same month that Fuyuki arrived in Hawai'i, the Labor Committee of the Planters' Labor and Supply Company reported that "even the introduction of some 5,000 Japanese has failed to supply the demand for plantation labor."[49] This was a slight exaggeration of how many Japanese laborers had actually arrived in the previous twelve months,[50] but the general observation held true, as did the ethnic transformation of the workforce implied by such numbers. At the beginning of the 1880s, only 15 Japanese were employed on the kingdom's sugar plantations (out of 10,200 laborers, half of whom were Chinese). By January 1890, 7,560 Japanese worked on the plantations, constituting 42 percent of the industry's workforce and outnumbering every other nationality (including Chinese, who now constituted only a quarter of the workforce).[51] Yet there was still insufficient labor, according to the planters, and this complaint was connected to another perceived impediment: cost.

In the first two years of the Japan-Hawai'i program (1885–1886), the cost of Japanese labor was more competitive than that of any other non-Hawaiian nationality. Planters paid between $ 65 and $ 66 initially to engage a Japanese man (the Hawaiian government covered the costs of women and children), including outward passage and transhipment from Honolulu to the plantations. This was markedly cheaper than engaging Portuguese labor (between $ 111 and $ 112 per man), and also some $ 10 less expensive than engaging Chinese laborers (whose immigrant numbers were in any case officially limited by the mid-1880s).[52] Relative to all other nationalities, the lower cost of passage alone accounted for the enthusiasm with which planters first requested Japanese laborers, as did the average monthly living and accommodation costs (where Japanese labor was again cheaper than Portuguese).[53] Even so, the planters were unhappy with the cost of Japanese labor in general. And although this grievance was not a direct cause of the political intrigues that led to the imposition of the planter-friendly "Bayonet Constitution" on King Kālakaua in July 1887,[54] one outcome of the political upheaval was that the sugar planters, who were strongly represented in the King's new government, negotiated the introduction of new clauses into the basic Japanese migrant contract. The initial modifications affected the fourth crossing of migrants, who arrived in December 1887. From the sixth crossing, in November 1888, it was agreed that planters would merely advance (rather than pay) $ 55, to cover each male laborer's passage, and an additional $ 10 upon arrival in Honolulu, to cover each la-

49 PM VIII, 11 (Nov. 1889), 506, reporting on a meeting in October.

50 There were 4,178 Japanese immigrants between November 1888 (sixth crossing) and October 1889 (ninth crossing).

51 BoI 1882 Report, 12; BoI 1890 Report, 33.

52 BoI 1886 Report, 250, records an average engagement cost of $ 65.85; BoI 1888 Report, Table B, records an average cost of $ 65.40 to the planter for Japanese immigration in 1885 and 1886. Comparable Portuguese data is for 1884–1886 (PM VI, 11 [Nov. 1887], Table II).

53 BoI 1886 Report, 250–251.

54 For historical background, see *Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio*, Dismembering Lāhui. A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887, Honolulu 2002.

borer's contribution to the salaries of Japanese inspectors, interpreters and doctors employed in the kingdom.

In these ways, the planters succeeded in shifting from the employer to the employee the burden of paying the single highest cost associated with contracting Japanese labor, namely the transpacific passage. Whether Fuyuki would have recognized the significance of the new Article XI, acknowledging both receipt of "the sum of sixty-five dollars United States Gold to meet his necessary expenses," and his agreement to "repay the said some in monthly installments after his employment actually begins," is a moot point.[55] Yamaguchi prefectural government advice to laborers before their departure emphasized, among many other things, the likely homesickness they would feel, the "great effort" (*hone wo oru*) they would have to make in their working lives, and the "endurance" (*shinbō*) necessary to save money.[56] (The idiom *hone wo oru* was the same as that punned upon by the exhausted lung laborers in Utagawa's "Rules of Dietary Life.") Overloaded with new information, a prospective laborer might well have overlooked a contractual clause about initial expenses and monthly repayments. Or, as seen in the later oral recollections of a female laborer who had crossed to Hawai'i from neighboring Ōshima island six months before Fuyuki, the post-arrival tribulations of plantation life perhaps led to the details of the original passage being misremembered: "The officials (*okami*) covered our passage to Hawai'i," she stated incorrectly, "but in return for three years we had a contract you had to endure (*shinbō*), even when times were tough."[57]

Yet exactly what the laborers made of their contracts was of little concern to the planters. From the perspective of Castle & Cooke, or Grinbaum & Co., the circulation of labor from Japan to Hawai'i would no longer be impeded by cost. Fuyuki was merely a commodity, according to this way of thinking, an object to be preordered alongside bonemeal fertilizer, canvas and macaroni.[58] And, similar to such commodities, he had a particular price. Whereas it still cost the planters an initial $ 110 to employ a Portuguese man (due to their having to pay for his passage), the final preemployment costs for contracting a Japanese man – at least as presented in official literature, and assuming he did not desert – were just two dollars and 17 cents.[59]

If $ 2.17 defined Fuyuki in the eyes of the planters, then a different number, 8051, would have loomed larger in his consciousness. This was his *bango*, the number given to each male Japanese laborer upon his arrival in Honolulu and used to identify him – and, if necessary, his wife and children – in all official documentation for the duration

55 The contract cited is from Reciprocity Sugar Company, also of Hāna, as printed in *Odo Franklin* and *Sinotō Kazuko*, Zusetsu Hawai Nihonjinshi 1885–1924 [A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawai'i 1885–1924], Honolulu 1985, 36.

56 See the Yamaguchi prefecture Rules for Migrants, reprinted in *Doi*, Hawai iminshi, 76–83, here 81.

57 As quoted in *Doi*, Hawai iminshi, 114. See also *Jonathan Dresner,* International Labour Migrants' Return to Meiji-era Yamaguchi and Hiroshima. Economic and Social Effects, in: International Migration, 46 (2008) 3, 65–94, here 69–70.

58 This ordering of Japanese is cited in *Ronald Takaki*, Pau Hana. Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii 1835–1920, Honolulu 1983, 23.

59 BoI 1890 Report, 44–47. This figure assumed that the full contract would be served and thus the advance repaid in full to the planters.

of his contract, including plantation correspondence and payroll lists. As the migrants would later recall: "The [overseers] never call a man by his name. Always by the bango, 7209 or 6508 in that manner. And that was the thing I objected to. I wanted my name, not the number."[60]

Commodification, endurance, and the "tough times" recalled by the female laborer: these were the experiences of many Japanese in Hawai'i. One emigrant poem, published in a 1900 collection, captured the hardships of plantation labor in metaphors that spoke powerfully to the transformation of working life:

Kibi wa furomu de	The cane drifts down the flume
Miru ni nagare	To the mill
Waga mi wa doko e	As for my body –
Nagaru yara	Where will it drift?[61]

The character for "drift" (*nagaru*) is the same as that for "circulation" (*ryū*) used by the official diarist of the Iwakura Mission. No less than the diarist's analogies of rivers, blood, and tides, the migrant's poem was also an expression of "how the world's products circulate."

4. Bodies of work

The body loomed large in the consciousness of Japanese laborers in Hawai'i. As we have seen, the "great effort" of plantation life was frequently expressed in predeparture advice through the idiom of breaking bones. The body continued to be a constant source of reference in the laborers' plantation songs, from tears flowing as they watered the fields, to sweat turning into the cane's "sweet juice," to songs that punned the word *koe*, meaning both "voice" and "fertilizer." The latter *koe* was in fact night-soil, such that the following song – "Even though the contract is over / Those who don't return to Japan / Will end up in Hawai'i / Fertilizer for the sugar cane" – referenced bodily excretions.[62] In Utagawa's 1850 image, the flow of such excretions had been managed by the blue-coated laborers; in the post-1868 world, those laborers were themselves the excretion – the shovelers having become the shoveled.

So what was the new mechanism for controlling labor flows in this mutated body? One answer was the very object of ire in the migrants' songs, namely the contract. The contract both facilitated the circulation of labor, in promising high wages relative to those available in Japan,[63] and simultaneously ordered it. This can be seen in the labor

60 *Takaki*, Pau Hana, 89.

61 Quoted in *Franklin Odo*, Voices from the Canefields. Folksongs from Japanese Immigrant Workers in Hawai'i, Oxford 2013, 84. I have retranslated the poem to emphasize *mi* (body).

62 Ibid, 56, 21, 86.

63 At the beginning of the emigration program, a farmer in Ōshima county could earn approximately 3.2 yen per month (the poorest farmers earned only 2.1 yen). By contrast, at 1885 exchange rates, a Hawaiian emigrant earned about 17.7 yen a month (including food allowances): *Doi*, Hawai iminshi, 16; *Moriyama*, Imingaisha, 18, 188.

disputes that arose during the emigration program. To give one example with which Fuyuki himself would have been familiar: in November 1891, the manager of Hāna brought a court case against one of Fuyuki's coworkers, a man named as "Fukusima [sic] (Jap)." The case, heard in Hawaiian but summarized in English, focused on why the defendant had refused to go to work "in violation of a Contract."[64] Equally common at the turn of the 1890s were "[c]ases of desertion by Japanese contract laborers [which] are frequent and on the increase,"[65] while from 1885 there were many other cases of planters taking laborers to court for "deserting contract service"[66] or "shamming sick."[67] In other words, the planters perceived the contract as preventing both too much flow (desertion) and too little (the avoidance of work).

The planters' perspective, however, assumed that the Japanese understood the meaning of "contract." Both the court cases and the many disputes that did not end up in court suggested otherwise. For a start, it seems unlikely that in their pre-Hawaiian lives, many laborers would ever have signed a contract, due to the casual nature of their by-employment work or their tenant farmer status. And even if they or their forefathers had (and laborers in certain sectors of the late-Tokugawa economy increasingly did), there were crucial differences between the Tokugawa-period document and that signed by the Hawaiian emigrants. Central to the former was the role of the "guarantor" (*ukenin*), one of a number of cosignatories, including sometimes the employee's kin, who was ultimately liable for any problems caused by the worker.[68] That role continued to be theoretically important for the Hawaiian emigrants: in the paperwork submitted to prefectural authorities, each (male) applicant had to produce a letter of guarantee testifying to his date of birth, occupation and "good conduct," to the fact that he was not conscripted, and to his lack of physical disabilities.[69] But whereas in the Tokugawa period the guarantor's kinship ties to the employee and/or his standing in the local community constituted a disciplining power over the worker (who in cases of serious misconduct could not only be fired but ostracized from the whole community),[70] such factors meant very little in the context of a Hawaiian contract. If the plantation worker caused trouble in Hawai'i, for example, there was no social pressure that the guarantor could bring to bear on the delinquent's wider household, no threat of social exclusion from the village community – for the laborer already was outside that community. The contract did not express kinship or village bonds, which is at least one explanation for the disputes in the Hawaiian courts.

64 HSA Court Records CIVIL A 331 (Second Judicial Circuit), Hana Plantation Co. Vs. Fukushima, 1891.

65 PM VIII, 11 (Nov. 1889), 507. There were reportedly 100 cases involving Japanese laborers in 1889–1890 (BoI 1890 Report, 35).

66 HSA Court Records CIVIL A 115 (Second Judicial Circuit), W.Y. Horner vs. Miamoto [sic], 1888.

67 One such case, noted by Tokyo bureaucrats, is described in DRO 3.8.2.7.

68 *Mary Louise Nagata*, Labor Contracts and Labor Relations in Early Modern Central Japan, New York 2005, 15–16, 59–63.

69 *Hiroshima Kenritsu Monjokan*, Hiroshima-ken ijūshi shiryōhen [A History of Emigration from Hiroshima Prefecture, Historical Sources] (hereafter HIS), Tokyo 1991, 9.

70 *David L. Howell*, Capitalism from Within. Economy, Society and the State in a Japanese Fishery, Berkeley 1995, 7.

In addition to this abstract transformation in the meaning of contract, there were also practical problems, as is illustrated by the problem of time. The *luna* (overseer) in the 1888 case of "deserting contract service," for example, put time at the heart of his testimony: "I told [the Japanese defendants] that they must hurry up as I did not want them to take half a day in going from one field to another and if they did not hurry up I should dock them and also report them to the Boss."[71] Such threats spoke to what the Hawaiian Inspector General of Immigration previously called the Japanese laborers' different "mode of work." In a May 1886 report, he suggested that "great allowances" be made for the Japanese at first, "as their manner of work (though *industrious* people) is quite different in their own country, from what it is here." He continued, almost as if describing the laborers' disagreements in Utagawa's "Rules of Dietary Life": "I am informed, that in Japan, they work a short while and rest, then proceed with their work, so on through the day, whereas, here, they have to work continuously the day through."[72]

The way that officials in western Japan dealt with the two problems of contractual discipline and "manner of work" suggests another aspect of "circulation" in Fuyuki's story, namely the ebb and flow of moral exhortations across the Pacific Ocean. After receiving early reports of labor conflicts in Hawai'i, Yamaguchi officials exhorted prospective migrants to "follow the directions of the employer" and not engage in gambling.[73] But as early as 1885, the governor of Hiroshima elevated this admonition to a more abstract level, urging the second group of migrants not to "disgrace the nation" (*kokujoku wo ukezaru*).[74] By the end of the 1880s, Yamaguchi's Rules for Migrant Workers warned that poor behavior – including absentee or sick workers – would give the Japanese a bad reputation (*fuhyōban*), such that employers "would cease to employ Japanese and [instead] employ Chinese and Portuguese."[75] In other words, the community that would be damaged by worker trouble was no longer the home village but rather the nation. "Japan" implicitly became the witness to the contract between migrant and sugar planter, and appeals to the nation – or unflattering comparisons with other nationalities of workers – were an attempt to discipline laborers.

In some ways, therefore, we may see Yamaguchi and Hiroshima officials' explanations of the Hawaiian labor contract as a form of moral suasion. But unlike the moral suasion campaigns in Meiji and prewar Japan described by Sheldon Garon, this "molding" of Japanese minds occurred beyond the borders of the nation-state.[76] Men like Fuyuki learned about the "nation" or about their status as "Japanese" through plantation life; the meaning of "Japan" emerged in the circulation of laborers between Japan and Hawai'i.[77]

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71 W.Y. Horner vs. Miamoto, 1888 (see footnote 66)
72 BoI 1886 Report, 256. Emphasis added.
73 Pledges signed by emigrants from Ōshima county, January 3, 1886, cited in *Doi*, Hawai iminshi, 83–84.
74 Admonition from the Governor of Hiroshima prefecture, May 25, 1885, cited in HIS, 10.
75 Cited in *Doi*, Hawai iminshi, 77.
76 *Sheldon Garon*, Molding Japanese Minds. The State in Everyday Life, Princeton 1997.
77 I have sketched this argument with regard to the Japanese migrant ships in *Martin Dusinberre*, Writing the On-board. Meiji Japan in Transit and Transition, in: Journal of Global History 11 (2016) 2, 271–294.

Discourses of time were also part of this wider circulation. In the summer of 1885, an article in Yamaguchi prefecture's *Bōchō Shinbun* noted that the two main difficulties experienced thus far by laborers in Hawai'i were language and time – especially the fact that the laborers were used to "Japanese-style time" (*Nihonryū no jikan*).[78] The character for "style," *ryū*, also means "circulation": thus, applicants were made aware of the characteristics of *Japanese* time through the circulation of reports across the Pacific Ocean. And, once again, laborers already in Hawai'i made sense of this transformation in song, comparing the rhythms of the plantation day to those of a now-distant hometown: "Worse than the crying of the birds / And worse than the temple bells / The sound of the morning bell / Far more painful."[79]

As with the literature of moral suasion, so too with the literature of time in modern Japan: the conceptual framework of "circulation" forces historians to bring different historiographical bodies of work into dialogue with each other. For example, the transition from Japanese "peasant" to Japanese "factory" time, traditionally told within the framework of the nation-state, takes on a different complexion when we consider that ideas of alternative temporal regimes were flowing into late-nineteenth century Japan both through reports and returning laborers from Hawai'i.[80] And we might broaden the historiographic framework yet further. Not long after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, Irwin described the emigration program to the new government as "our great *industrial* Emigration Convention."[81] The language of industry brings to mind the aforementioned Iwakura Mission's diarist, who described raw materials carried along sea-lanes and making their way "to the factories of every region." But if, by this logic, the Hawaiian sugar plantations were industrial factories, then the stories of the "industrious" men and women who worked in them needs to be incorporated into the historiography of "Japanese" industrialization – a body of work which has overwhelmingly focused on *domestic* factory life.[82] The regional diversity and dynamism of Japanese industrialization, as emphasized by scholars such as Nakamura Naofumi, has recently been recognized with UNESCO's designation of twenty-three "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution" as World Heritage sites.[83] The vast majority of these sites are in southwestern Japan, in Yamaguchi and neighboring prefectures. But the story of Fuyuki Sakazō and his fellow Japanese laborers would suggest that

78 *Bōchō Shinbun*, August 22, 1885, cited in *Doi*, Hawai iminshi, 101.
79 *Odo*, Voices from the Canefields, 57.
80 *Thomas C. Smith*, Peasant Time and Factory Time in Japan, in: Past & Present 111 (1986), 165–197.
81 HSA FO&EX Box 404–16–253e, Letter from Irwin to Sanford B. Dole, April 27, 1893. Emphasis added.
82 For example, *E. Patricia Tsurumi*, Factory Girls. Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan, Princeton 1990; *Andrew Gordon*, The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan. Heavy Industry, 1853–1955, Cambridge MA, 1985; *Akira Suzuki*, The History of Labor in Japan in the Twentieth Century. Cycles of Activism and Acceptance, in: Jan Lucassen (ed.), Global Labour History. A State of the Art, Bern 2006, 161–193. Sydney W. Mintz famously argued that Caribbean sugar plantations were "industrial enterprise[s]," such that the colonies were industrializing before the metropole: *Mintz*, Sweetness and Power. The Place of Sugar in Modern History, New York, 1985, 46–52.
83 *Nakamura Naofumi*, Chihō kara no sangyō kakumei. Nihon ni okeru Kigyō Bokkō no Gendōryoku [The Industrial Revolution from the Regions. The Driving Force behind the Rise of Business in Japan], Nagoya 2010; see also *http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1484* (25. 03. 2016).

Hawai‘i could also be considered a region of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution. By this rationale – and forgetting for a moment the administrative paradox of *national* world heritage sites – Hawaiian sugar plantations could also be added to Japan’s UNESCO list.[84]

Yet despite being acted upon in multiple ways, Fuyuki was not merely the passive object of circulation. In February 1897, he was named as a “mediator” (*yobiyose*) in the emigration application of Murotsu resident Hiraki Yasushirō. Hiraki explained that he hoped to work in Hawai‘i because he had heard from Fuyuki that an American manager was currently arranging new labor contracts for Maui cane-field workers.[85] Perhaps Fuyuki was even arranging for his own successor: he would leave Hāna in November 1897 and return to Murotsu. There he married his first cousin Sumi, with whom he emigrated once more to Hawai‘i – this time to Kaua‘i – in the early 1900s. A decade later, Fuyuki would organize members of the Murotsu diaspora in Hawai‘i and North America to raise funds for the construction of a new school building in the hometown.[86] Here, as in his earlier support of Hiraki’s application, Fuyuki was himself managing the flow, himself encouraging global circulations of labor, money and ideas.

5. Global Labor History

“What is global labor history good for?” asks Andreas Eckert.[87] One apparent answer is that it offers historians a framework by which to understand the working experiences of a man such as Fuyuki Sakazō. Freed from the analytical constraints of the nation-state, we can follow Fuyuki’s career from port town to Pacific plantation. But to my eyes at least, Fuyuki’s story complicates as much as it validates global labor history. The problem is one of historical methodology, and of definitions in particular.

To tell a *global* labor history we might begin, as does Marcel van der Linden, with “a more neutral definition of work” – that is, one more finely attuned than earlier definitions to the gray zones between “free” and “unfree” labor, between workers and lumpen-proletarians, or between visible and hidden wage labor.[88] As Franco Barchiesi argues, however, a wider definition, which enticingly suggests that “free” and “unfree” are categories to be lined up on a conceptual spectrum, ignores “the gratuitous

84 On the administrative paradox of nation-states having to nominate world heritage sites, see *Nathan Hopson*, Takahashi Tomio’s Phoenix. Recuperating Hiraizumi, 1950–71, in: Journal of Japanese Studies 40 (2014), 2, 353–377, here 354, 376–377.

85 Application of Hiraki Yasushirō, February 9, 1897, in Kaigai tokō ni kansuru ikken [Matters concerning overseas crossings], MYM 412.

86 *Martin Dusinberre*, Of World History and Great Men. A Japanese Village and its Worlds, in: Tosh Minohara/Tze-ki Hon/Evan Dawley (eds.), The Decade of the Great War. Japan and the Wider World in the 1910s, Leiden 2014, 372–393.

87 *Andreas Eckert*, What is Global Labour History Good For? in: Jürgen Kocka (ed.), Work in a Modern Society. The German Historical Experience in Comparative Perspective, New York 2010, 169–181.

88 *Marcel van der Linden*, The Promises and Challenges of Global Labor History, in: International Labor and Working-Class History 82 (Fall 2012), 57–76, here 63–66.

violence within the institutional and socioeconomic machinations that ontologically defined blackness as a condition of oppression."[89] That is, a more inclusive definition of *labor* inadvertently flattens powerful ontological differences and thus works against the very diversity implied by the term *global*. Perhaps, then, historians might take an alternative approach, as does Jürgen Kocka, and offer an explicitly European definition to an abstract concept – in Kocka's case, not "labor" but "capitalism." Armed with such a definition, one that is consciously an "ideal type," our methodology would then be to "apply the concept to eras going back a long way, eras in which the concept was not yet in use and when what it meant existed only in tiny rudiments, as trace elements of a kind of proto-capitalism in small amounts, or only on little capitalist islands in a sea of noncapitalist conditions." Here, it is not the definition but the *application* and the *tracing* that constitute the global approach to a "worldwide phenomenon."[90]

Neither of these methodologies is terribly satisfactory when it comes to the story of Fuyuki Sakazō. The first – a broadened definition – reminds us that "neutral" terminology is very much in the eye of the beholder. Van der Linden aims ultimately to write a "universal history of work"; others are working toward "a universal taxonomy of labor relations" and "global datasets" that will ultimately facilitate "shared meso-level ontologies and typologies that are sensitive to the specific historical context."[91] But to paraphrase Frederick Cooper, there is more than a hint of *déjà vu* here: Thomas C. Smith and modernization historians would happily have described their work as based on "neutral" terminology and inspired by a "universal" vision.[92] And just as the modernization historians turned to the units of the nation-state – "Japanese patterns" – to test their theories, so it seems that such practices of global labor history are also still largely dependent on national or supra-national units. Central to its methodology is comparison, both worldwide and through time, of units such as "Portugal and colonies," "Russia," "Brazil," "Bolivia," "Africa," "Turkey," "India," and "the Far East."[93] But the very point of Fuyuki's working life is that he eluded such categories: He was in some ways not "Japanese" until he left Japan, and conversely his Hawaiian labor must be considered part of Japanese industrialization. It is to draw attention to these transcended spatial and temporal categories that I have written of "Meiji Hawai'i" rather than "Meiji Japan." The interest of Fuyuki's story lies not in a comparison between regimes of labor in Japan and Hawai'i but rather in "cross-contextualization": the ways in which the Japanese laborers might have imagined Hawaiian plantation life according to concepts of "circulation," and the ways in which plantation conceptions

89 *Franco Barchiesi*, How Far from Africa's Shore? A Response to Marcel van der Linden's Map for Global Labor History, in: International Labor and Working-Class History 82 (Fall 2012), 77–84, here 79.

90 *Jürgen Kocka*, Capitalism. A Short History, Princeton 2016, 23.

91 *Leo Lucassen*, Working Together. New Directions in Global Labour History, in: Journal of Global History 11 (2016) 1, 66–87, here 68, 67.

92 *Frederick Cooper*, Colonialism in Question. Theory, Knowledge, History, Berkeley 2005, 9.

93 *Lucassen*, Working Together, 68, fn. 6. On the key methodology of comparison, ibid, 75. Comparative history is also one of the key organizing themes of *Jan Lucassen* (ed.), Global Labour History. A State of the Art, Bern 2006.

of time and work circulated back to Japan.[94] More research is needed on these kinds of connections.[95]

Meanwhile, the second methodological approach – applying and tracing a European definition of "capitalism" across global time and space – is problematic for two reasons. First, not dissimilar to modernization theory, it leads us toward seeking "pre"s and "proto"s. It might encourage us to think of mid-nineteenth century Murotsu as "protocapitalist" in the sense that daily economic life – excepting in most cases labor – was already commodified.[96] When Fuyuki left Murotsu, according to this way of thinking, he therefore left behind a protocapitalist world of port trade and instead entered the fully capitalist world of plantation production. This is an attractive theoretical framework in many ways, but it is problematic in eliding the moment of physical departure from Japan with the key conceptual transition from "proto" to capitalist labor, such that "capitalism" becomes a synonym for Maui and "proto" a synonym for Murotsu. While there were important transformations that occurred in Fuyuki's life from the moment he departed Japan, their significance is overstated by exclusively applying the framework of "capitalism." "Circulation," by contrast, suggests not a major change in paradigm upon Fuyuki's departure from Japan but rather a series of mutations in the basic model of money, goods, and people on the move.

And, to come to the second critique of applying and tracing, why should historians somewhat arbitrarily broaden a European concept and then apply it to Asian-Pacific (or indeed global) history at all? Kocka is fully conscious of his own framing strategies and notes that "the author's preferences undoubtedly also play a role here, since I am more at home in the history of the West than in that of other continents."[97] But for those historians less self-aware than Kocka, such applications of theory bring the danger that we use the moniker "global" without thinking through how our methodology undermines our aims: in such cases, the criticism would have to be not "methodological nationalism" but what we might call "methodological globalism."

My addressing some of these problems through the story of Fuyuki Sakazō is partly inspired by a recent "thought experiment," in which David Mervart rejects the analytical discourse of *feudalism* in East Asia and instead adopts the paired Sino-Japanese concepts of *hōken* and *gunken* to consider not only early-modern East Asian history but also, tantalizingly, European history.[98] Such a migration of analytical concepts from Asia to Europe is not unprecedented: as noted, Hayami's "industrious revolution" came to have a profound impact on European historiography. "Circulation" is therefore an attempt to broaden the methodological range and conceptual categories of global (labor) history. If, for example, we follow Kenneth Lipartito's recent characteri-

94 *Sujit Sivasundaram*, Sciences and the Global. On Methods, Questions, and Theory, in: Isis 101 (2010) 1, 146–158.

95 For one approach which innovatively combines *Alltagsgeschichte* and transnational history, see the special issue entitled "Arbeit Begrenzen Entgrenzen", in: Werkstatt Geschichte 70 (2015).

96 *Howell*, Capitalism from Within, 1–23.

97 *Kocka*, Capitalism, 24.

98 *David Mervart*, A Forgotten Landscape of the Forms of Government. The Case for the Counterfactual History of Political Theory, in: Antje Flüchter/Jivanta Schöttli (eds.), The Dynamics of Transculturality, Heidelberg, 2015, 99–111.

zation of "capitalism as a many-headed hydra" ("cut off one head and another grows in its place"), then the Utagawa-inspired analogy of new limbs and disrupted flows both adds to and deepens our appreciation of a "capitalist *assemblage* [which] will depend on any number of factors, from the material to the cultural, with different logics that govern how production is carried out, how its fruits are distributed, and where the line between the public and private sectors gets drawn."[99] It is in these different logics, cross-contextualizations, assemblages, and in the gaps in-between, that we may find the greatest potential for conceptual broadening in global history.

6. Broadening and narrowing

A final observation on *Erweiterung*: the "fruits" of capitalism were distributed very thinly among the one group I've mentioned very little in this essay, namely the indigenous Hawaiians themselves, to whose history European analytical concepts have been applied with particular mendacity.[100] In March 1897, some eight months before Fuyuki left Maui and returned temporarily to Japan, the *Pacific Paradise* newspaper published an article describing the countryside to the northwest of Hāna plantation, an area that "at one time" supported "a large population":

> The scenery is magnificent—the finest, by far, on the islands. Roaring cascades dash down steep terraces, finally forming deep streams that waste their waters in the sea. The forests are thick and tangled; wild bananas, ohias and various native fruits grow in luxuriance, but, at present, the whole stretch of territory is practically unused. Some of these days the district will be invaded by the industrious, and the scene will be changed.[101]

The article deploys the classic tropes of the white man's gaze: the land is now "unused" but will one day become "industrious" – as if the only proper use of Hawaiian land would be for the sugar industry, and as if the deep streams feeding indigenous taro fields would be wasted unless diverted to cane irrigation.[102] Meanwhile, the reference to a previous "large population" is a reminder of the decimation of the native Hawaiian population that occurred in the century between Captain Cook's arrival on the islands and that of Fuyuki, a reminder of the invasive political and legal processes by which the land that comprised the pre-1864 Hāna plantation was originally acquired and cleared following the Māhele reform of 1848 – by a retired whaling

99 *Kenneth Lipartito*, Reassembling the Economic: New Departures in Historical Materialism, in: American Historical Review 121 (2016) 1, 101–139, here 127, 128, emphasis added.
100 *Haunani-Kay Trask*, From a Native Daughter. Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i, Honolulu, 2005 [1993], 113–122.
101 "Hana's Future," in: Pacific Paradise, March 1897.
102 See *Osorio*, Dismembering Lāhui, 173, 185. The final working sugar plantation in Hawai'i will in fact close in December 2016: *http://hpr2.org/post/bittersweet-end-cane-plantation-days* (25.03.2016). Indigenous Hawaiians have campaigned for the post-closure land to be "give[n] back…to the people of Maui": *http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/28/maui-hawaii-sugar-cane-crops-agriculture-hcs-monsanto* (20.05.2016).

captain, a Honolulu auctioneer, and the then-Minister of Finance. It is a phrase that tells us Hāna was once densely populated, until a measles epidemic in 1848 and a smallpox epidemic in 1853.[103]

Fuyuki was not entirely absolved of responsibility in this grim history of "invasion," for as we have seen, the arrival of hundreds of Japanese in Hāna in the late 1880s coincided with the proportion of native Hawaiian laborers in the plantation's workforce declining from 46 percent to 12 percent, or in real terms almost halving, to 45 laborers. Some scholars have argued that by accommodating themselves to a system of capitalist imperialism, the Japanese sugar workers were not plain "immigrants" but rather settler-colonialists in the islands.[104] Perhaps that is going too far, but such an argument is also a provocative reminder that a global labor history of Japanese workers in Hawai'i, and indeed of East Asian labor throughout the Pacific world, must consider also the deleterious transformation of indigenous labor regimes in the nineteenth century. A broadening of labor horizons for some was a narrowing for others.

103 *Carol A. MacLennan*, Foundations of Sugar's Power: Early Maui Plantations, 1840–1860, in: Hawaiian Journal of History 29 (1995), 33–56, here 46; *McGregor*, Nā Kua'āina, 100–102.
104 *Eiko Kosasa*, Ideological Images. U. S. Nationalism in Japanese Settler Photographs, in: Candace Fujikane/Jonathan Y. Okamura (eds.), Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i, Honolulu 2008, 209–232.